UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT

Franklin Delano Roosevelt was a great man and a great president, and we shall not soon see his like again.

He was great in his understanding of the whole sweep of human needs, and he was genuinely interested in the well-being of all men everywhere.

He was great in his conception of government as a means to the realization of a full life, and he allowed no antiquated ideas of political science to deter him from applying this conception.

He was great in his strategy of dealing with all sorts and conditions of men, and he was able to marshal conflicting groups in behalf of democratic and unifying social purposes.

He was great in his awareness of world trends and the meaning of world events, and he gave direction to trends and events.

In the scope of his outlook, in the method of his procedure, and in the breadth of his human interests, Franklin Delano Roosevelt stands secure among the great of all time.

Curtis W. Reese.

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The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

Petition

Campaign for World Government is seeking signatures to the following petition:

To the Delegates of the United and Associated Nations in San Francisco assembled:

We, the undersigned people of the United States, believing as we do that just government rests on the consent of the governed, respectfully urge that you establish a world legislative body to which we can elect our own representatives.

The sovereignty which belongs to us, the people, we now wish to redivide, giving to a higher world level of government—which we continue to control through our representatives—the power to decide questions of world-wide concern.

If democratic international machinery capable of resolving the economic and political problems which menace the general welfare of our ONE WORLD is not established in San Francisco, it will remain for us to organize it in order to secure for ourselves and our children the blessings of peace, prosperity, and freedom.

Name.....

Address.....

Signed petitions should be sent directly to: Campaign for World Government, 166 W. Jackson Blvd., Chicago 4, Illinois.

European Representative Appointed by Church Peace Union

The appointment of Dr. and Mrs. Robert C. Dexter, Boston, Mass., as its European representatives was announced by Dr. Henry A. Atkinson, General Secretary of the Church Peace Union.

Dr. and Mrs. Dexter, who have just returned from Europe, have long been active in the field of international relations. Immediately after the Munich decision, Dr. Dexter went to Prague and upon his return organized the Commission for Service in Czechoslovakia.

Both Dr. and Mrs. Dexter brought to their work in Europe a background of experience in social and religious work and in college, teaching at Skidmore College, Saratoga Springs, New York. Dr. Dexter went from Skidmore College to the American Unitarian Association, where he headed the department of social and foreign relations.

Dr. Dexter has served on the boards of committees of religious and international organizations such as the World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches, and the United Nations Association, while Mrs. Dexter has been active in the Association of University Women and the League of Women Voters. They are exceptionally qualified for their task by long experience.

UNITY

"He Hath Made of One All Nations of Men"

Volume CXXXI MAY, 1945 No. 3

Editorial Comments

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

I

As I look back upon the sudden and shocking death last month of President Roosevelt, I am reminded to what extent we humans lie helpless in the grip of fate. We make our plans, and lay down our policies, and call our conferences, and write our charters—and then comes an event of this stupendous character, and the scene is instantly changed. Karl Marx argued in his day that men were not decisive factors in society, but that impersonal economic and political forces determined destiny. Well, such forces are powerful, but so are men. Look at the difference in the national and international picture since Mr. Roosevelt passed away! History has known nothing like it since the sudden death of Abraham Lincoln in 1865. Which is a sure indication of the place destined to be occupied by President Roosevelt in the annals of mankind! Just what that place will be, posterity alone can tell. Contemporaries have no objectivity, no perspective, no point of view, no adequate knowledge, and therefore no basis for sound judgment. In looking back upon Mr. Roosevelt's career we are acutely conscious of the controversies which raged about his figure, as such controversies rage about the figure of every outstanding leader in tumultuous times. In looking around us at this moment, we feel only the tragic sorrow that weighs down still the hearts of men. In gazing ahead, we are alarmed at the uncertainties which beset us—a new president not yet tried, a peace not yet won, a world still cast in chaos. We are in no mood nor position to estimate the character of Mr. Roosevelt's fame. But of this one thing we can be sure—that his place, in range of influence and of conspicuous acclaim, will be unparalleled in the annals of this country. We know this, first, from the character of these times, than which the world has seen nothing more tremendous since the decline and fall of Rome. We know this, secondly, from the role which Mr. Roosevelt played in the stupendous drama of these times. That role was central, both at home and abroad. We may like, or not like at all, the way in which the role was played—but there it is, a record written till the end of man's life upon this planet! If anything can be certain at this moment about the future, it is that historians, centuries hence, will agree to designate this period in American history as the Rooseveltian Era. The late President showed with admirable candor his appreciation of this fact when he built at Hyde Park his library for the permanent preservation of his books and papers and memorials. He knew as well as any man that the day would never come when his name, whatever man's judgment upon it, would not be regarded as important.

II

The present intensity of interest in the deliberations of the San Francisco Conference involves both promise and peril in about equal parts. The promise inheres in the public determination to have peace after this war. We cannot afford to fail again—that is the way people feel about this crisis! So there is a greater focus of attention upon San Francisco than this country has known even upon a world series baseball game. And the attention is not merely attention but pressure to have something done. By this I mean that the people feel themselves to be not merely onlookers on this event, but participants therein. This conference is their conference, and they do not propose to have it throw away the opportunity given by another military victory to establish peace among the nations. All this is to the good! But there is peril as well as promise in this situation. The peril lies in the fact that the very intensity of interest in what is going on tends to make the public uncritical. It seems so wonderful to have the world, or a considerable portion thereof, gathered together in one room, we have such confidence on the whole in the good intentions and wisdom of the delegates, and we are so acutely aware of the final nature of the crisis in which we are involved, that we are almost irresistibly tempted to accept anything that is handed to us as not only acceptable but infallible. Like a hungry and frightened dog, we are ready to gulp down anything that is laid before us. This was shown after Teheran, and Quebec, and Dumbarton Oaks, and Yalta, when, sight unseen, a burst of rapture greeted

what was done. This naive rejoicing is encouraged, of course, by the official propaganda which suffuses these conferences like perfume in my lady's chamber. It is aided and abetted also by the newspapers which have almost entirely surrendered their critical faculties. If a new play or a new book were handled by the reviewers as uncritically as these international agreements are handled by the editorial writers, the former would not hold their jobs a day. The result is a pathetic eagerness of acquiescence, coupled with a paralysis of objective judgment, which may defeat the very end we have in view. San Francisco challenges the closest scrutiny, and its report, whatever it may be, the most rigorous examination. The conferees are not infallible, and their decisions may well be inadequate or mistaken. If so, we must know, for an error now, like the missing horseshoe nail in the nursery rhyme, may lose the kingdom. The Cleveland Conference of Protestants showed us the way when it gave no blanket endorsement of Dumbarton Oaks, but laid down nine reservations, or amendments, which could alone make the document acceptable.

III

What is religion, anyway? How many people today know or care what it is? Is it a reality, or a mere convention or habit which means nothing any more, but which we have not the courage to put aside? I ask these questions because of an experience on the radio the other day which to me was shocking and yet by most persons, I assume, was regarded as a matter of course. I was listening to the Sunday afternoon Catholic Hour, which was devoted to a brief period of worship and a sermon by a distinguished preacher. The service had begun, and a superb choir was singing "Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus." Suddenly there was silence—then a voice broke in with an announcement that American troops had won a certain victory. After this item of news had been repeated twice, and listeners had been advised to tune in "at this station" for later broadcasts, there was another brief silence, and then the singers were heard again in their sacred chant. To get the full significance of this episode, one must imagine a great church, with the choir in the stalls, the priest at the altar, and the service under way. Down the aisle rushes a newsboy who screams the bulletin of the capture of Coblentz, and praise to God is silenced while this announcement is heard. That is how seriously we take religion—at least, how seriously our radio folk take it! If religion, on the air as in a church, is anything more than a mere performance, it has something to do with God and communion with God. In a religious service, we "come into His presence with thanksgiving." We are actually looking at God, and listening to his voice, and seeking his guidance. For a few blessed moments we are apart from the world, in an experience of the soul which is divine. And on that Sunday afternoon, all this was regarded by the radio people as so trivial and commonplace that they felt free to intrude with a news bulletin. To interrupt a religious service in a church is a misdemeanor punishable by law. Why not also on the air? But more serious than the law is the heart of man that it can think so lightly of religion as to do this thing. Of course, from my point of view, it would have been equally offensive to interrupt a symphony concert, or a serious address, in this impudent fashion. Which shows that what we have here at bottom is the whole question of the sanctities of life! The radio recognizes no sanctities, but abides in a world of sheer vulgarity. This is the reason why we have such an episode as this—to say nothing of radio programs in themselves.

IV

The anti-discrimination bill passed by the New York Legislature at its recent 1945 session may well be the most important milestone of human rights since the Bill of Rights, and the greatest gain for liberty since the Emancipation Proclamation. What the bill does is to set up a commission charged with the task and armed with the power to provide employment without prejudice for all persons regardless of race, creed, nationality, or color. In all business establishments employing six or more persons, there can be no refusal to hire a Negro, or a Japanese, or a Roman Catholic. The applicant for a job must be considered on his own merits as a man and as a worker. Of course, there are ways of evading this law. But these ways are not so easy in the face of a standing commission prepared to investigate, and of penalties severe and shameful. Also, it is true that one does not end an evil merely by legislating against it. There still remains the long and patient work in this case of purging the human heart of hate. But legislation of this anti-discriminatory type sets a public standard, and thus helps to create a public opinion. Furthermore, it opens wide the door to redress of grievances. Any Negro or alien or Jew who is the victim of unfair dealings may take his case at once to authorities of law, and thus have his chance to submit his complaints and claims before the bar of justice. The responsibility devolving upon the Commission is obvious. It must establish its authority beyond challenge; it must work out successful techniques of procedure; it must establish precedents of wisdom and courage. Above all, it must lift a banner of idealism as well as law to which all right-minded men may repair. This New York legislation may become an example for all the states of the Union to follow, and even for the imitation of the federal government itself. It is this possibility

which marks this event as so momentous in the history of race relations and true democracy in this country. It may be that this is the opening of something like a new era in American life. Is it altogether an accident that, at just this same time, a private anti-discrimination agency, supported by a group of churches and synagogues, has been started at the New York Community Church? This agency, operating of course on a purely voluntary basis, is to attempt to cover the whole field of human relations—housing, recreation, amusements, education, as well as employment. Anyone who has suffered injury on account of race, religion, or color, or has a complaint or grievance, may come to this agency and find a friend who will listen and if possible act. It would all seem to mean that, in New York at least, we are getting sensitive on this question. That is the first step toward real reform!

V

"Released time" from the public schools for religious instruction is not going down so well as many of its advocates lightly assumed. In New York state a bill for "released time" was passed a few years ago, and everything seemed to be settled. But now opposition is rolling up, and a determined effort will be made to secure the repeal of the law. In the state of Washington a bill passed by overwhelming majorities of both houses of the legislature was sharply vetoed by the Governor. What is disgraceful about this "released time" policy is that it is a deliberate attempt to make the state use its police power to do what the churches have so miserably failed to do. Religious education in our Sunday schools has broken down. The churches are not holding their children. So these churches turn to the public authorities and ask them to do what they cannot do themselves—namely, escort the children into the sanctuary! One would think that the churches would be ashamed to do this thing. But no—with brazen impudence they call upon the state to hand over to them, for their incompetent use, a part of the precious public schooltime. What does this mean? That the churches are going to turn to the state from now on to solve the problems they do not know how to solve themselves? If so, what becomes of the good old democratic principle of the separation of church and state? How near are we to the totalitarianism that would have the state, like George, do everything? But the main objection to "released time" is what it does to the children. Our public schools are the true fountainhead of democracy. Here children of all nationalities, and races, and religions, learn to work together and play together and live together. They discover that society is one great family—a united body in which are no distinctions or separations. And then this "released time" comes along and breaks up the family! Happily joined together with no consciousness of discrimination of any kind, the children are now suddenly each week torn apart. The Catholic children go trotting off to the Catholic church, the Jewish children to the Jewish synagogue, and the Protestant children to a great variety of Protestant churches. The result is utterly deplorable. For the first time the children learn that they are not the same but different. Confusion, prejudice, and fear are planted in their hearts. Not all the teaching of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man can eradicate this feeling of alienation. For deeds are more than words—what we do is far more important than what we say. Our spiritual separations on Sundays are bad enough without spreading the contagion on weekdays.

VI

It is curious that we know more about the destruction of Cologne than we do about the devastation of London. We know that the English capital has been horribly hurt, but the details that we have had of the German cathedral town are lacking. And the amazing thing is that as the story has come to us of the ruin of German cities and even villages, together with the wholesale death or scattering of their populations, we Americans seem not to be in any way disturbed. A kind of anaesthesia has seized us, or, worse still, a moral complacency. We can actually witness the destruction of all that is precious in Europe, and go easily and happily about our business. This is partly because, of course, our enemies are suffering. It is startling to realize how atrocities committed upon the enemy stir up no such emotional reaction as atrocities committed by the enemy. When Plymouth was wiped out, and a large part of Rotterdam, a shudder went through our bones and a wild cry of protest leaped from our lips. But we stood the annihilation of Cologne and Aachen and Berlin very well, thank you. After all, the enemy was only getting what he deserved—the women rushing madly about the streets, for example, and the little babies lying dead in the bombed-out shelters! But there is a second and more terrible reason why this destruction of Germany has not upset us. I refer to the fact that we have gotten used to this sort of thing. At the beginning of the war, the thought of wholesale bombing anywhere was intolerable. The Nazis proved themselves utter barbarians by doing what was simply not done by civilized human beings. They had put themselves beyond the pale by dropping bombs on London piers and warehouses. Then the English took it up—from "necessity" of course! The great port of Hamburg was bombed as the great port of London had been bombed. Then began "precision" bombing—factories and railroad terminals and bridges, picked out of crowded areas and selectively destroyed. This was followed by "obliteration" bombing—whole neighbor-

hoods wiped out in a single assault. Now anything goes—whole cities are doomed to destruction, and all the people who may be in them. And we never turn a hair! We hear of flaming Tokyo or shattered Munich as though some little anthill had been overturned. Nay, we would probably pity the ants! Thus have we deteriorated morally, become ourselves barbarians, under the impact of war. Thus does war work its havoc. Victory ravages the victor inwardly as it ravages the vanquished outwardly. Which is the more dire evil? It might be well to estimate before we go to war again.

Jottings

"Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect."—*Matthew* 5:48.

This commandment must now be dropped from the Sermon on the Mount, as it has suddenly become a sin to be a "perfectionist."

When we hear of the decline and fall of New England, it might be well to remember Robert Frost, 70 years of age on March 26th last. Frost is as noble a poet, and as clearly first among his contemporaries, as any poet that New England produced in the great days gone by.

After all the talk about "unconditional surrender," there is to be no surrender. After all the discussion of what to do with Germany, there is nothing to do but to salvage and save her. If our peace plans turn out no better than our war plans, we are in a sad way indeed.

Bad news for the British! Gandhi says that he is going to live to be 125 years old. After what he has done in his fasts, he may succeed, for he seems to have an amazing hold on life. In that case, what are the British to do? Are they never to be rid of this troublesome old man?

The St. Louis baseball team has a one-arm outfielder. The Washington team has a player with a fiber leg. Baseball is going to carry on if it has to raid every hospital and old men's home in the country.

Read the story of Chester A. Arthur for good news about President Truman. If our new executive can duplicate that episode in our national history on the vast stage of the present scene, all will be well.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

Our Hand Is on the Plow

STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN

"No man having put his hand to the plow, and looking back, is fit for the Kingdom of God."—*Luke* 9:62.

Our faith as Unitarians is not to be found in words alone, nor honored traditions, nor ceremonial practices, nor professions of belief. In all such matters we are of many minds. Rather, we are established under our banner of freedom in quite another religious tradition —the prophetic testimony.

The Unitarian religion is one held most often by the minorities of history. It records the struggles of men for emancipation—Amos and Elijah; the struggle of men for knowledge—Erasmus and Tycho Brahe and Jesus; the struggle of men for equality—Jefferson and Paine and Parker; the struggle of men for a fluid, not a rigid, revelation—Theophilos Lindsey and William Ellery Channing; the struggle of men for the undefined but better future, pregnant with hope—Francis David, Starr King, and Susan B. Anthony.

Of such stuff is the prophetic religion made. Rarely has it known the sanction of the majority. Seldom has it been made official. It is more familiar with prisons than with the princes' courts.

Since February eleventh of this year, when a communiqué was released at Yalta, you and I have devoted many of our waking hours to one absorbing task: To add our part to the making of a secure structure for the nations to inhabit for years to come, in peace and equality. We know that this time it is not a matter for parliaments alone, but for humble people of every nation to help build. At benches at Lockheed in California, at production lines of Chrysler in Detroit, on battle lines along the Elbe, in offices and behind shop counters, Americans, like the common peoples in forty-seven other nations, are talking, thinking, and praying with a singleness of purpose never before equaled in human history.

It should be a source of tremendous spiritual support to feel, as we can, that in Moscow, in distant Yenan, and beautiful Santiago, men and women are at this hour speaking as we are here. They know, as we do, that there is much for us to accomplish—the finding of resolute agreement on first principles, the acceptance of unprecedented responsibilities as rank and file citizens of the world. A commitment to a program of work awaits our hands. There is no historical parallel. Never before have six hundred million literate, alert, proposing men and women concentrated on a world-wide task, without fear or terror or superstition or a sense of fu-

tility holding them back. They know the tools are here for making a new world; the plow does exist. From 1776 to 1789, American people along the Atlantic Coast had few uniting forces—a feeble daily press, no radio or railroad, no planes, no ships at sea. The physical unities are new, and they make a great difference.

Recently I sat with Unitarian students from half a dozen Middle Western universities, and we discussed Dumbarton Oaks and Bretton Woods. They were informed, keen, resolute, determined, realistic young people, who know they have a job to do if the world they are to live in is not to fall upon them in disaster. As keen and clear-eyed were the Negro servicemen and women and civilians with whom I discussed the Yalta communiqué a few days earlier in Bangor, Maine. You have had the same experience. Wherever we are these stirring days, the plain citizen is thinking furiously of how he may guarantee a world of peace and security by the work of his own hands.

As this article was being written the staggering news of the death of President Roosevelt came to all of us. Since the death of Franklin Roosevelt, many millions of words have been spoken and written about him. This only needs to be said: Our duty as citizens has not altered one scintilla, our course has not changed direction by a fraction of a degree. In this tragic hour our course is not altered, but our obligation to pursue it has increased tenfold. Those of us who formerly felt it a duty to support President Roosevelt in working for the establishment of a world organization know that today we must work ten times as hard. Beyond all boundaries of party and sect Franklin Roosevelt has left his impress on the will of millions. He has set the compass, but the wheel is now in our hands. The San Francisco meeting will move on. The memorial of our President is not a tribute nor a shaft of marble. It is the resolute grip upon the plow — the plow of freedom set in a furrow already turned in part.

There are some first principles involved in the forthcoming weeks if a world organization is to be established. It is worth our time to name them:

1. A world of free united nations at peace, with material security and cultural enlightenment, is a practical possibility — possible within the framework of one or two generations of now-living people. Science, communication, agriculture, industry, and people's institutions of schools and churches, Congresses and labor organizations, have made this true as it was never true before in the days of Cromwell or Washington or Lincoln, or even Woodrow Wilson.

2. A peaceful world depends upon a resilient and flexible equilibrium of great nations and peoples which has been achieved already to an amazing degree in the coalition warfare of the United Nations and the coalition planning for peace, not only by Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin, but also by the planning conferences at Hot Springs, Bretton Woods, Montreal, and Dumbarton Oaks, where food production and distribution, monetary plans, reconstruction loans, and security organizations proved subjects capable of resolution into concrete and workable plans for action. This coalition of capitalist and socialist and labor governments, of historically hostile races, of mutually distrustful religious faiths is of such size and significance that it staggers the imagination. A reasonable society, undamaged by fratricidal warfare, is truly within our grasp. It is taken out of the realm of dreams and poetry and resolves itself into units understandable not only to industrialist experts like Donald Nelson and Henry Kaiser, but to the daily commuter from Cape Cod and the stenographer on the Boston Elevated. The victory so near is due to this principle of a gigantic coalition of the Soviet Union, China, the British Commonwealth, and the United States. It is no figment of Jules Verne's fancy; it does work in a tough and realistic world, and nothing short of it will build a peace. This coalition involves surrendering some fixed ideas and some long familiar prejudices. Yet, after all, it works, and Americans respect a machine that runs well. We propose to make one for the safety of our children's children.

3. Our achievements are to be won in a real struggle against forces of destruction, against men and combinations of men unashamedly cynical, amoral, self-centered, and willing to bring down the pillars of civilization upon their own heads, if only they may have, for a few more hours, the glory of their own free will to possess the earth. The climate in which we work is not that of a college campus or a parson's study. It is a battlefield, and the rules are hard. This we of the liberal church are reluctantly learning. Let me speak plainly. The hardest battles lie before us. Let not the advertisements drug our minds. Reconversion, full employment, world organization, industrialization of the backward nations, job equality for ten million Negroes, education for our masses, medical care for our diseased and ill-fed millions — these fruits of victory are not to be won by words alone.

On April twenty-fifth a conference opened in San Francisco which we need to understand. We need to grasp the concept of a General Assembly, of a Security Council, of an Economic and Social Council, of the proposed voting procedure. But let us know equally well the zealous machinations of Gerald L. K. Smith, of the men who loved cartels in Argentina, Sweden, and New York, of Senators like Bilbo, Wheeler, Taft, and Walsh; against such men and combinations do we pit our strength. The next few weeks and months will bring a struggle grimly real. Peace will come only by all of us knowing what the issues are and where men stand. Our own distinguished Moderator, Senator Harold Burton, has told us that it would not be an easy battle. A handful of willful men who fear the future, a minority within the Senate can end our hopes for peace. A few men who distrust their fellow men can break the hearts of countless millions. There are men in every city in America, in both parties, in our own churches, who hate our Russian Allies more than they love a world at peace. There are men beside us on the trains and busses who make a daily covenant with Satan to suppress the Jew and Negro, even if it kills our nation in another civil war. There are citizens who pay their bills, respect their wives, yet cannot sleep for bitterness against the rising voice of workers in the mills and toilers in the field discovering power in the ballot and the courts. These are the men who hate Dumbarton Oaks, and Bretton Woods, and Yalta, and the plans for San Francisco; and as a minister of religion and a believer in the Divinity of Man, I say solemnly, "Let not your hand slip from the plow till the furrow is cut and the seeds well planted, for such as look back are not fit for the Kingdom of God."

I say this about the forces of evil and those who hold contempt for progress because churches, even whole denominations, in America have voted to take no sides,

to censure no men, to see all issues and support none, to walk as though Fascism did not poison the bread of nations and destroy the hopes of entire peoples.

And do not think these evil men betray their purposes openly for all to see. It is vanity for one to study and discuss Dumbarton Oaks unless one knows full well that many who offer their approval are intent upon the destruction of these very plans. The children of light must be as discerning as the children of darkness. America and the world want world organization—with power, implemented, certain. Foes of world security are offering lip service and reservations, postponements, delays, revisions, amendments, new clauses —*death* by quiet strangulation.

Dumbarton Oaks is not a blueprint from the gods but it is a consistent, integral, unified proposal on which many delegates of the four great nations have joined in their approval last November. Basically it should stand as it is written. Beware, oh liberal, the man with reservations! The ghost of Henry Cabot Lodge is abroad in the land.

We have responsibilities as rank and file citizens. There is a peril that we, in the liberal tradition in religion, will betray our youthfulness by being Utopian, perfectionist, easily wounded, easily discouraged. Politics and righteousness have much in common. We in the church can add immeasurably to the victory at San Francisco — a people building a democracy — if all of us take ourselves more seriously as responsible citizens. For thousands of us the experience of hard study, applied concentration, organized action, militant partisanship for the cause we cherish is a little new and strange. It is not as familiar a custom as quietly attending church and lifting our voices in a song of praise. This is not so true of our children, and I predict it will not be as true of our battle-seasoned veterans on their return. Prime Minister Churchill in reporting on Yalta to the House of Commons put it bluntly and well: "We live in a time when the quality of decision is required of all of us."

To do less than to commit one's own mind and to communicate that commitment to those who represent us in the halls of Congress, to our delegates at San Francisco, to the President himself, who has asked for our cooperation, is to contribute to a peril no sober man dares contemplate — the failure of this greatest enterprise on which the race of man has embarked, the establishment of a United World founded on authentic brotherhood.

This mighty proposal for a new world order will succeed, not primarily by the valiant labors of the delegates and ministers now in California,—it will win or fail, quite literally by the actions of tens of millions of plain and humble people like ourselves, in Canada and Mexico, France, Russia, Africa, and our own beloved America. Study and inform yourselves and your friends, act in the living present and with conviction, make your opinions felt. Your expressed opinion is not a mere molecule of judgment for Dr. Gallup or Mr. Roper to weigh. It is a part of your immortal soul, a fraction of your divinity, a portion of your spirit, holy and magnificent if planted in the fertile soil of democratic life. It is the stuff of true religion; by God's grace, cherish it. Make the world to know it is as precious as the gold of Ophir. Informed and well-established opinion, born of a living conscience and let loose in the world of aspiring men, is a holy thing. This product of the soul of man, multiplied across the continents, is our only and our sure defense. To this end may our words and works be given in the months before us.

"No man having put his hand to the plow, and looking back, is fit for the Kingdom of God."

Post-War Germany

HARRY TAYLOR

There seem to be two conflicting schools of thought regarding the political and economic future of post-war Germany. One school of thought insists that Germany shall be stripped of her vast industries after the war—especially her war industries—and reduced to the condition of a purely agricultural nation. The other school of thought insists that Europe and the rest of the world need all of Germany's industries and industrial skill after the war, and that these must be restored to her with adequate safeguards.

The supporters of this latter school of thought insist that they have learned from experience in the last war and that Germany will not be permitted to arm a second time. How and in what manner they will restore Germany to her 1938 level of productivity and at the same time circumvent those elements in Germany bent upon revenge, these "Germany Restorers" do not say. The poet speaks of one's inability to charm the deaf adder "charm we never so wisely" but those who propose to restore Germany once again to industrial might have before them the task of charming the deaf adder.

When one ponders over this strange urge of certain sections of the victorious nations to make Germany strong again, one cannot help feeling that things are wrong somewhere. One can disabuse one's mind in advance of the thought that the great majority of the "Germany Restorers" are Germanophiles. That is not the case. There is a deeper motive. And that motive, one suspects, is love of gain. There are a great many of our industrialists in Great Britain and the United States who feel that they can use to great advantage and profit the newly created industrial capacity of Germany. Their attention is focused so intently upon post-war profit schemes concerning Germany that they have a blind eye to the incalculable dangers of post-war German restoration.

It is a good thing to get down to fundamentals and to ask oneself what are the vital issues in any situation. The vital issue of the post-war period is of such vast and overwhelming proportions that even a child should not be led astray. It is summed up in one phrase: "No more war!" That must be the main objective and all other objectives must be subordinate. Even the loss of Germany as a giant unit in post-war production must not be allowed to detract from this mighty objective of "No more war!"

There must never again be allowed to rise to power in Germany any section of her people bent once more on world domination. There is but one way to do

this: to make it absolutely impossible for Germany ever again to manufacture munitions of war. This the people who wish to restore Germany to her pre-war industrial might cannot guarantee. Once they create again for Germany vast industrial establishments, it will be a human impossibility to prevent the astute and scheming war clan of Germany from inventing ways and means to use that industrial machine for devilish ends. They would probably invent new and far more terrible weapons of war, which outsiders would not even recognize as weapons of war if they saw them.

Turning to the other solution for a post-war Germany, we are met with the proposal to strip Germany of her great industries and give to her neighbors the rich industrial districts of the Ruhr and Silesia. The immediate retort to this scheme is that it will make what is left of Germany incapable of feeding and supplying herself with the necessaries of life. The object of this article is to show that Germany can be stripped of all her vast industries and not only still be able to supply herself with all that she needs, but become a better, more peaceful, and happier Germany than ever before.

And at the same time she will be leading the world in the direction that we desperately need to go.

One fact that will stand out with gigantic clarity when this war is over is that we have become centralized to an alarming degree. Power remains and will remain with a comparative few within each nation. This vested power will be even more dangerous after the war than it is now; for then it will be unwittingly laying the ground for a third world war of such proportions as to destroy what is left of our civilization.

That is to say, the condition of the world after the war will be top-heavy. In some way or other, for the salvation of the race, we must begin to decentralize. The machine age in this respect has passed its zenith. Everything we need for a happy and a full life can now be more efficiently produced in much smaller units spread more widely over the face of every nation. We now possess all the skill and knowledge to make all that human beings need in small communities living at their highest efficiency in small groups.

For the past few decades we have been hypnotized by bigness and seduced into thinking that the larger the unit the better the efficiency. But now the moment has arrived in history for men to move in the other direction. Serious thinkers the world over are beginning to see that men must in the future be rid of the menace of power; and power comes from too great units of human life under single control.

The fact is that we have now sufficient power of production in any line of human endeavor to create all that we need in very much smaller units of production. For our future salvation, for world security, we must spread out authority to such an extent that no overwhelming power remains with any small group of people anywhere. If this is to be the century of the common man then let it be so in very deed. Let us go in for decentralization on a vast scale and let us begin where we have the power, in Germany.

At this time of writing it seems more than likely that by the time the Nazis are finally conquered, the whole of Germany will be more or less in ruins and her large cities and centers of industry wiped out. Let them never be rebuilt. Instead, let us make the new Germany the first nation to live under a scientific plan of decentralization.

It is all foolishness to say that Germany cannot feed herself and provide for herself if all her great industries are taken away from her. In Great Britain since 1940 the increase in agricultural products on her own soil has been amazing. Yet they have only scratched the surface compared with what really can be accomplished in small communities and on scientifically organized farms and in small town factories.

This new Germany would be a nation of small communities, each community being as self-sufficient as possible, getting its share of coal and iron and staples not found in its vicinity, but using no large scale production whatsoever.

Thus will be brought into being in the new Germany a new people, living quiet, peaceful, and happy lives with the arts, music, craftsmanship, and scientific research towards better communal living as the new norm. Contrary to the general idea, the German people are peculiarly adapted to this way of life.

Here can be tried out upon a nation-wide scale what decentralization can do. That is the direction in which all mankind will have to move if we are to avert an even more terrible war. Let numbers of men and women from the Allied and other nations be freely mixed with the new Germany in every small community; men and women who believe in decentralization, in the "back-to-the-land" idea at its best. Let them be ambassadors of humanity, seeking to heap coals of fire upon the people of Germany by guiding her into paths of atonement: she shall beat her swords into plowshares and her spears into pruning hooks and learn the ways of a new peace and culture that all the world will soon want to follow.

The best wisdom of mankind just now is saying that we must decentralize, we must spread out power more evenly and all of it into the hands of the common man.

> "We men of earth have here the stuff of paradise, we have enough.
> We need no other stones to build the stairs on to the unfulfilled."

One shudders when one hears the subterranean rumblings of power politics and knows that foolish men in high places are longing and working for a return to cartels, vast interlocking industries, etc. That way madness lies.

We must decentralize or we perish. Let Germany lead the way.

Rolland Is Dead

There is a shrinking of the world today;
Horizons hug the earth in sudden fear.
Dimensions, losing measure, fall away
In littleness. Night has engulfed us here—
A narrow night of blinding grief and tears.
Rolland is dead! This blotting out of light
Leaves deeper dark, in contrast to the years
He spent creating day, proclaiming right.
Yet presently this brooding sense of loss
Shall spend itself within the greater gain
As new horizons swell. Dawn sweeps across
The seas of sorrow and the coasts of pain
To touch his deathless life, his work, his art,—
The final vision of the pure in heart.

ELEANOR DARNELL WALLACE.

What Is This War?

GEORGE LAWRENCE PARKER

If we seek to identify a criminal we must ask first: Just what is the crime he has committed? What sort of man would or could produce exactly this criminal result and no other? Our title suggests that we are not trying merely to define our present war but that, seeing it for what it is, we may forever rid the earth of its poisonous root or its human creators.

Our question's first form, "What is war?" is theoretical and general. In and of itself it carries no sharp arrow and very little of sting, bite, or pain. Even if we regretfully say that heretofore in all races and nations war has been a way of life called history, we are not reduced to tears by that conclusion. We can remain in a moderately equable frame of mind as we review the wars of the past.

The second form of the question is "What is a war?" And here we come a bit nearer to the emotional edge, for any war that we select will appear one way to us and another way to whomsoever we are talking. The Carthaginian-Roman War may with its *Carthago delenda est* still deeply stir us. Milton's "Avenge O Lord thy slaughtered Saints whose bones lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold" certainly brings tears to the surface. Many of us were maturing lads at the time of our Spanish-American War, but the wound of it did not go very deep personally or nationally, although perhaps it should have done so.

Each of these wars in its own single instance was just "a war." World thought and international circumstance prevented them from being much more than just "a year" in college. It was not wholly our own youth that thus classified and delimited them. But the third form of our question becomes "What is the war?" and here the sting, bite, and pain are real, vital, and bitter. Here, clearly, we come to something definite and pointed. Not so long ago, for instance, our Southern folk meant only one thing when "the war" was mentioned. Tears were not only near the surface but flowed freely. For them the Civil War was not a war but the war, and "that made all the difference," as Robert Frost says.

The fourth and final form of our question is not only definite and painful, but smothering and destructive, death-dealing and threatening. "What is this war?" roars in our ears night and day; no escape from it seems possible. We feel convinced that until we find some sort of answer there can be no hope of preventing future wars any more than there is hope of preventing a disease unless we can differentiate it from all other diseases. General labels will not cure particular ills. We now know one undeniable fact about this our present war, because we have seen it in action. We know that it has come into every home, has disrupted every life, has sat in our chairs and slept in our beds, has claimed our moneys, dictated our thoughts, ordered millions of youth to death, changed our political and personal habits until we no longer recognize ourselves. It has made for us a new nervous system and a new mental habitat.

Whatever does these things is clearly a person, not a mere thing or force. We are driven to ask: Who is this person? rather than: What is this war?, for by all honest definition these things could not be done at once by any combination of mere forces. Such forces might at last win our forgiveness but this rude and pitiless destroyer has even shattered the spiritual agencies of forgiveness of which we were formerly possessed. As Jacques Maritain has pointed out, the sin of Nazism and Fascism is not their telling of lies but their perversion of language itself. They use venerable words whose meaning was once plain but they use them with an utterly new meaning. Moral disorder and perversion could reach no lower depth.

Things and forces do not act this way. This is a mischief done by persons, and the New Testament verdict is scientifically correct, "Some enemy hath done this."

This war is a person with all the earmarks of personality. And yet he is not a known or definite person. He is not Hitler nor Mussolini nor Hirohito. Such tagging and name calling is futile, childish, and incompetent. Chief agents of evil these men may be, and worthy of the most diabolical identification we can pin upon them. Nevertheless they are not the persons who constitute the war itself.

It is likewise fallacious to identify our criminal by talking about "causes of the war" in any merely theoretical fashion. Fascism, Nazism, Communism will not serve us in our search for the cause. These name plates are misfits. And the names given by the opposite side are equally misfits. Nationalism, British Imperialism, American greed and financial lust, French corruption, Russian isolationism are scapegoat names for the real criminal. All of these false names may be signs, but they are not the thing signified when we try to name causes. They may be tainted with the crime but are not the real criminal. We are already beginning to see that when examined fairly each of them has good points as well as bad; history will show that more clearly. None of these theories is totally criminal even if their known bad habits put them for a shorter or longer time in the criminal class. We may well remind ourselves that every sudden change in governmental theory is at first called criminal by those who oppose it in loyalty to the older form to which they are wedded. Cromwell, Washington, and Lincoln were criminals in the eyes of very many honest people,—the record is plain to read. And now Stalin, the reprehensible purger of a few years ago, has become Marshal Stalin; and Mr. Churchill's former description of him is forgotten. It is not necessary to believe that history always exalts the successful criminal. It is only necessary to understand that she does so in some cases, and above all to understand that in many instances she only sets right the errors of immature public judgment. Even in our normal Presidential elections in the United States criminal charges and names are rather freely flung about, positive warfare is seemingly close at hand—both to be forgotten in a short time.

In our present war most of us are fairly sure that we know who the criminal is, and we may be right; certainly in general the case seems proven. And yet the ghostly doubt haunts us that we are not altogether right, and that anyhow our identification does not put us very far forward toward a solution.

There remain to us, beyond causes and persons, two other possibilities. The fact that these two points of view are theological has not hindered the use of them by hosts of people who know little of theology and

perhaps not much of religion. One large section of people finds or feels that the arch-criminal is God. Just what God they mean they do not make clear. Still the vociferous cry went up at the start of the war: Why does God allow it? Why does he not do something about it? The other large group have made a good answer, yet their reply is not entirely convincing. They have said: "God has nothing to do with this war. The originator of it is the Devil." More politely they speak of the Satanic Powers or the Forces of Evil.

It may be that we are here on the right track. But it may also be true that many of us cannot so easily use the terms God and Devil in the assured sense in which these two groups intend that we should. Still, personality is made to appear as the guilty party, and personality means persons. With this clue we are not perhaps so far away from the criminal's hide-out.

We may remind ourselves that it did not take us long, after the war started, to coin the phrase "global war." We felt in that phrase a true description of the upsurge of personality all over the world. Every living person became real to us, every soul was involved in this cataclysm. Our term and our feeling were emotionally correct and mentally worthy. But we failed to follow through to the next step. We forgot to say that global war, being war between persons, requires a global conception of personality. Through science and quick world communication, international business, and commerce we had outwardly become global. In Mr. Willkie's phrase, we had become One World. One World could naturally have nothing less than a one-world war. It began with World War I; and has gone on for thirty years.

This interlocking directorate of all humanity was and is something that had never happened before in our long history. All wars were local wars until science abolished localism and created globalism, created it physically and mechanically but stopped short of creating it mentally and spiritually. In other words, we were dragged into global war by a time lag in personality. Our outer and inner parts failed to synchronize. Our hidden interior brakes did not grip the road as we approached the abyss. The recorded facts of the last twenty-five years, seen in every newspaper, are proof enough that humanity did not rush into this war, nor were we pushed into it. We dragged ourselves into it. Slowly, foot by foot, from the imperfect Versailles Treaty to the 1939 Policy of Appeasement we could hear the wheels grind and drag, everybody could hear the crunch.

There was criminal carelessness and that means a criminal personality, one or more, a million or tens of millions.

Who was he? Who is he?

He is that common universal spirit of man which literally refused to accept its unity except in its superficial aspects. The originator of this war is our own humanity that reveled in surface oneness but clung to a divided personality beneath the surface; inwardly we chose something else, a split personality. The togetherness of commerce, business, travel, science, art, and music was rejected when it sought admission to our inward parts, our thoughts, our emotions, our affections, and our spirit. We had gained One World only to lose Oneness of Soul. The time lag delayed our arrival at the goal of eternal values. We bogged down toward global war and destruction, because our souls were too weak to check the global descent.

Does the arch-criminal, then, become a mere theory once more? Have we made a sort of hypothetical wholesale indictment of humanity? Has the perpetrator of the crime once more escaped us?

I think not. For after all nothing is wholly personal except what is universal. In One World the universal and the personal cannot be separated as they were in the localized world even of three centuries ago. Birth, death, love, passion, suffering, food, drink, shelter are the universal things and they alone are the personal things.

And yet they constitute only one-half of our universality and togetherness. They are the things that happen to us but not in us. Every one of them is shared by the animals but the animals do not become persons. When we come to humanity, these things that happen to us, this list of outer realities, are but the casings of personality. If we are to arrive at our real selves, another list of realities is needed: interpretation, understanding, thought, reason, emotion, aspiration, affection, hope, and all of the limitless vocabulary that forever struggles for expression from within us.

We neglected or rejected this higher vocabulary, remained content with mere outer globalness. The arch-criminal is each one of us in just such degree as we accepted the casings of personality and rejected the contents. We may have been, in these past twenty-five years, as obscure and unknown as the boy who delivers our morning newspaper. We may honestly declare that we are innocent of any share of responsibility in this war. But we cannot escape detection. We have been a part of a humanity that has refused to grow up to be persons. Our own guilt varies in degree and amount, but none of us is guiltless. Our refusals have been sometimes conscious, sometimes unconscious, but always real. We have ignored or been blind to personality —opportunities offered to us as to none of our predecessors. We have made global refusals one after the other against our possible personality. We have had our share in mankind's permanent delinquency.

We cannot forget that every known appeal to unite ourselves to a moral universe has always clothed itself in universal terms. Such an appeal includes all of us or none of us. Every prophet of religion, every proponent of genuine education, every true poet of the soul, every pleader for enlightenment and awareness has uttered his cry not to a few but to all. We may say that our present war is a war for democracy, but it is rather a war for the very essence of man's soul. It is a war for the togetherness of man's spirit and for the wholeness of his inner realities. Professor Whitehead has said that religion or wholeness is what we do with our aloneness. But in essence religion or wholeness is what we do with our togetherness.

Our real criminal, then, is our retarded global personality. That delay and retardation is the originator of our war.

We shall cease to be criminals only when we begin to create, however slowly, a genuine oneness between our outer and our inner worlds. If we can approach that unity we shall at least begin to create for ourselves and for all mankind a truly global personality.

Imperfect as our circle and our global world may ever continue to be, it will yet become a world where war is unthinkable and the destruction of personality impossible.

Towards an Enduring Peace

MIRIAM ZIONY

A trillion dollars in money and countless millions of human beings killed or crippled has been estimated as the toll to be paid by the world for the present conflagration. But no guaranty of a lasting peace will be written for a world that is weary of wars until all the nations and all the peoples of the earth unite, as did once our own thirteen original states, upon an equal basis—and even more thoroughly—to work together for the solution of their common problems of trade, tariffs, and raw materials, currencies, credits, and territorial claims, political and economic, racial and religious differences.

It is being argued now that a world federation similar to the United States is too idealistic and not at this time possible because of "the vast differences in political, economic and social development that exist among nations, by the divergencies in their policies resulting from differences in historical experience and by their mutual doubts and suspicions which, in many cases, have been enhanced rather than alleviated by the war."

For such reasons as these, we are told, it is necessary to accept the Dumbarton Oaks plan for a Security Council to be under the control of a few large powers upon whose magnanimity the rest of the world will have to rely, and who want to reserve for themselves the right to veto any restraints upon their own possible transgressions or threats to peace. But Dumbarton Oaks need not be the only alternative.

In our own early days under the Articles of Confederation, there were also disputes over States' rights, as well as bitter trade rivalries, bloody feuds, and territorial seizures. Each state had its own burden of war debts, its own conflicting beliefs and ideologies and prejudices.

In the words of a liberal but pessimistic British philosopher of that day, quoted in John Fiske's historical study, *The Critical Period of American History 1783-1789:*

> The mutual antipathies and clashing interests of the Americans, their difference of governments, habitudes, and manners indicate that they will have no center of union and no common interest. They never can be united into one compact empire under any species of government whatever; a disunited people till the end of time, suspicious and distrustful of each other, they will be divided and subdivided into little commonwealths or principalities, according to natural boundaries. . .

But reason prevailed over passion and methods of conciliation over force. Better methods were found than domination of the weak by the stronger states, or provision for military coercion of any of the sovereign members. Our Federal Union, our Constitution, and our Bill of Rights were born not only of the memory of the denial of human rights and liberties by the Old World, but also out of the bitter experience with religious, political, and economic intolerances and cruelties in the New World.

It is the firm conviction of those who believe neither in isolation nor in peace by collective action against aggressors, that now, even as in the past, only through the application of reason and good will and faith, through sincere cooperation in a truly democratic world federation of United Nations, can the dangers and difficulties that may confront us, the problems and differences that may divide us, be most intelligently and most amicably overcome.

"While the terrible menace of [Nazi] Germany still holds the Allies together we must fashion the beginnings of a new order which will be more just and more permanent," said the editor of the *Manchester Guardian* in his Christmas, 1944, message. "In this task the naive, but splendid idealism of the United States may be of decisive importance, provided it is not nipped in the bud by the frost of European politics. . . . There is still time to persuade the statesmen of Europe that peace cannot be guaranteed by new strategic frontiers, by moving millions to and fro across the Continent, by beggaring the German people and driving them to anarchy and despair."

As the Allied armies penetrate farther into the heart of Germany and the United Nations conference delegates meet at the Golden Gate, it were well to give thought to:

1. More constructive peace proposals than unconditional surrender, in order to hasten the return of sanity and humanity to a world that is sadly in need of greater manifestation of these attributes.
2. The re-establishment of truly free and independent governments in the liberated countries, including Poland, Yugoslavia, Greece, Romania, and the Baltic states, as well as in Germany itself, in line with the concepts of the Atlantic Charter.
3. The organization of a World Federation in which the people of all the nations, large and small, victorious and vanquished, shall have a representative voice and vote, without benefit of power politics in behalf of any dominant few.
4. The establishment of international programs and machinery for the development of all the world's resources and all the world's wealth for the greater good of all the world's people, without fear of want and without fear of any Gestapo or G.P.U.
5. A coordination of the Russian zeal for government aid in expansion of opportunity and the good life for the common man; and a synthesis with our own American democratic ideals, principles of liberty and justice, the right of all men to freedom of speech and press and assembly, to freedom of association and of conscience, and to freedom of private enterprise, without dread of persecution and retribution at the hand of any form of dictatorship.

Our Strength

Our strength is not entirely in our wings,
Our ships and railroads, trucks and motored gear;
It does not lie entirely in the things
We own and take for granted, year by year;
Our strength is not in forests we have felled
Nor in the big desire that clothes our aim;
There may have been some efforts we withheld
But selfishness could never stake its claim;

We have no time to bask within the curse
Of satisfaction, we have strides to make:
Man's labors must step up to reimburse
Supplies that go to fight for freedom's sake.
Our strength is not entirely in our guns
But in morale our nation wills our sons.

MARY O'CONNOR.

Women in Relation to the Peace

ROSE NOLLER

A great English educator, George Arundale, has said that if war were left to women there would be no war. This is a broad statement and is not without its contradictions. But there is no gainsaying that this has been a man's world! And men will fight where women are more likely to adjust—use tact and subtle diplomacy.

An outstanding fault in both Japanese and German psychology is a conspicuous male arrogance and consequent subjugation of women and all things pertaining to women. Women are not leaders in either of these countries. They are forced to do as they are told. This is not untrue in many aspects as a problem confronting the whole world, but is outrageously present in the enemy nations. Proportionately to women's emancipation there is growing social emancipation. A great teacher and international lecturer, C. Jinarajadasa, has said that if you wish to know the men of any nation, look at their women! Woman is by nature more receptive and passive. Unless she knows the truth about herself and has the courage to live it even if it means going counter to conventional concepts, she is likely to reflect whatever image is thrown upon her, whether this is true or false. She is likely to do what is expected of her. Having for so long been considered subordinate, not only in this age, where there has been progress regarding this problem, but in ancient ages, she is likely to regard herself as so and allow herself to be blindly directed.

I am a poet and a singer. Before the war, I had my private business in voice, phonetics, poetry interpretation and writing. I also diverted much of my business time into writing for the general public. This is difficult work without financial backing and I was walking a tightrope, economically, before the war. The war has reduced my professional time to a part-time basis, and, in order to support it, I have been doing something part-time in business—advertising—in which I make personal calls for a furniture house on a copyrighted plan where the public receives the benefit of the advertising money spent. In making these calls, it has always been amusing to me to come across bachelors or widowers left to themselves. A home is no longer a home. It is a place to hang one's clothes and to do only the most necessary acts. Even if the *place* is clean, there is never any interest whatever shown in beautifying it, inside or out. The inside is useful and ugly; the garden is unkempt with weeds. (There are always exceptions in the qualities of both sexes—where unusual types show more balance within their natures—but what I have observed is generally characteristic.)

To illustrate this further, I recall an amusing story related by a friend of mine: when a youngster, she lived on a farm. Her parents, in buying eggs for hatching, had neglected to specify sex. The result was a crowing lot of roosters and, she said, all they did was *fight!* Balanced with his hens, the rooster becomes a very estimable creature, but left isolated to his own devices, carried into human psychology we have a *Hitler!*

Men excel in physical strength and, as a rule, are weaker in moral strength. Women, while generally weaker physically, have greater moral strength. I often wonder how the history of the world might have been changed if a good psychologist or a good woman had influenced the character of Hitler—using him as a symbol of unbalanced male arrogance. Instead, Nietsche and philosophers of his ilk, who denied the equality of the sexes and the kinship of nature, led Hitler and the German nation to their destructive and inhuman stand. And these philosophies denied, while teaching the "beyond-man," the One "Beyond-Man" with Whom we are in some small degree acquainted, together with all His teaching!

If we are to get rid of war, if we are to have a thorough social housecleaning, if culture and beauty are to be encouraged, women will have to do it, if they will assert themselves to do it. Women will more and more have to step from their homes and become nationally and internationally minded. Nor can woman accomplish this by being man's puppet and imitating him. She can do it only by being herself. There has been too much imitation by women. Their gift is unique and different and their use lies in being complementary, not similar!

In saying this, I am setting up no rivalry. I am an artist. I am presenting principles and attempting to explain their *equality,* but an equality which does not mean duplication. I am speaking of *life,* not making personal comparisons. The great poles of life present great complementary truths. These polar forces, though opposite, are also harmonious, if understood and allowed to function freely. Misconception can be a greater tyrant than any physical tyrant. Convention can be bitterly cruel.

These principles are everywhere present in life, operating in all its diverse departments in the human world, in the nature world, and in the animal and mineral kingdoms. The blood and bone of man do not argue. They exist cooperatively. Idea and form do not conflict. The sap of a tree and its fibers have no confusion. Rain and sunshine are both good, but only if they are in relation to each other and balanced. Pillars in architecture need connecting arches and ornaments for grace and unity. Neither can stand alone. A predominance of either will bring destruction and evil. No evil can accost us save through the misconceptions and weaknesses in *us.* Cyril Scott, the English composer, has said that women have the divine power to separate man's good intentions from his evil acts. Where man fights and *fights for something good,* a woman if freed and informed will search out techniques and tact and policy. Where men bristle with truth, she will bring love and sympathy and compassion—qualities outrageously lacking in the strictly male world. And I have never heard any woman—any true woman—say that the great Teachers that the world has had are not *practical.* That men generally think they are impractical is evidenced by the fact that our political worlds, our religious worlds, our worlds of education and economics, have all too sparsely lived those principles. Even the Logos has been, in the Western world, designated as purely male. We have to go to the Orient to have the Logos recognized also as the *Beloved*—as *Mother.*

In saying this, I am not intimating that the fault lies in men alone. Women have their concomitant series of petty and narrow weaknesses. Their insufficiencies can

as capably smother the fine ideals of a man as fidelity to their true qualities can reveal them.

Women of the World! There is a mess on our hands! Your job is not only a war job. You will have to help houseclean the world to make way for a permanent peace: a peace that is something more than defeating an enemy, real and imaginary—a peace that has compassion, justice, vision, and understanding.

A friend of mine, Angela Morgan, the poet, has written a poem entitled, "God Prays." In this poem she indicates the beneficence of the divine pattern. He (and She) waits for us—*us* as *human beings*—to live it, to work it out! *Without* the cooperation of the human, it can never be embodied. *With* the cooperation of the human, no thing which the imagination can conceive *is impossible!*

The Study Table

The Rights of Man

LETTER FROM A MURDERED TOWN. *By Ralph Cheyney. St. Louis, Mo.: The Ralph Cheyney Memorial Association. 50 cents.*

Indictment for the murder of one or more persons is nothing unusual, but indictment for murder of a town on the charge of "townslaughter" quickens us with wonder. Such an indictment is the brilliant documentary poem by Ralph Cheyney, published posthumously. From the first line to the last it vibrates with the dynamic energy of this tireless crusader for the rights of man. Somewhat experimental, but starred with lyrical passages, it is a stirring outcry against the evils of misrule by a political boss.

Like the well-known *Deserted Village,* the town of "Oceanopolis" has fallen prey to ills of human devising. The "letter" portions of this poem, supposedly written to Ralph Cheyney by a friend after a visit to "Oceanopolis" (affectionately known as "Old Beacon") are in flashes of prose continued at intervals. These passages state the case—starkly, from a material viewpoint, but Ralph Cheyney's lyrical, expository comments probe the very soul. Ralph Cheyney, the lover of life, the lover of justice, the lover of humanity is revealed here in lyrics that haunt one with their poignancy and elemental beauty. Such phrases as: "Spiced peace in each pantry, some crop in each mind"; "Postoffice, store and city hall, crossroads of a rural trinity"; "And banks as well as crops do fail, under parasite-blight and panic hail"; "Where the marsh comes up and the land goes down"; "Money is the congealed life-blood of the poor"—are sublime in their lyrical connotations.

Has youth, with its aspirations and dreams ever been more graphically characterized than here:

> Whose heart was such a crescendo choir
> Of discoveries now and triumphs to come
> When he'd bring in a jiffy millenium.

Or has joy ever been refracted from more vibrant lines than these:

> Some sparks on his shoulder the blackbird wears
> And some in his song that oddly pairs
> In its careless toss of bubbling joy
> The throat of a bird and the heart of a boy.
> The world is alive with the wonder of wings.
> All there is is their throbbing.
> There are no mere things.

Intensely alive to the wonder of life, attuned to the pulsations of the animate and the inanimate—"There are no mere things"—Ralph Cheyney through his expansive philosophy perceived the joy beyond the present horizons.

We are carried along on the tides of various emotions as "Old Beacon remains though Old Beaconers go."

Then follow impassioned pleas for the three basic rights of humanity: the right to a home, the right to be fed, the right to a job. These pleas are the Magna Charta for the oppressed of all nations, and in the hearts of all readers "Old Beacon" will remain as an enduring symbol of the rights of man.

ETTA JOSEPHEAN MURFEY.

A Vivid Narrative

BLACK BOY. *By Richard Wright. New York: Harper & Bros. $2.50.*

One need not take sides in the age-old controversy of the function of the artist in society to praise Richard Wright's *Black Boy.* One must, however, have a philosophy of race relations. And it is the opinion of this reviewer that the Negro problem, so-called, is not a Negro problem at all. It is the white man's problem. And the crucial question is one of inducing white men, by logic or emotion, to face the problem—and to do something about it now.

Already, reviews of *Black Boy* have appeared charging that this volume is mere egotism and in no way contributes to the fight against Fascism, since it presents no solutions. True, we need solutions, but even before solutions we need a desire to face the problem. And white America overwhelmingly, though tragically, does not want to face its problem, even in time of war.

Undoubtedly the best way for the average white to feel the problem is to become a Negro—if for only an hour even in the North. Perhaps a more feasible method is for whites to identify themselves with Negroes by associating in interracial groups. The next best, though vicarious, way to hit hard into the sluggish consciousness of white Americans is vivid, biting narrative that becomes a part of a person's system—whether he wants it so or not.

This Richard Wright superbly does again in *Black Boy.* Hunger in Natchez, hunger in Jackson, hunger in Arkansas ("Can I eat all I want?"), hunger in Memphis. Fear in Natchez, fear in Jackson, fear in Arkansas, fear in Memphis ("I'm scared—they would kill me"). Seventeen years of hunger and fear. And of double talk. Seventeen years of learning one's place ("Ain't you learned to say *sir* to a white man yet?"). Seventeen years of lying, of stealing, of fighting. And finally: "I've got to get away; I can't stay here. I was leaving without a qualm, without a single backward glance. . . ."

Black Boy will haunt white men. *Black Boy* is a blockbuster which will crumble white America's subconscious resistance. And then the social scientists and social technicians with their solutions can move in. We have enough social statisticians, but too few artists of the caliber of Richard Wright. We look forward to

the next volume of his autobiography—again not for solutions, but for reasons. This surely is a valid contribution of the artist, whether black or white, whether writer or painter, whether concerned with race relations or world government.

HOMER A. JACK.

Timed Yet Timeless Poetry

THE DEVIOUS WAY. *By Theodore Morrison. New York: The Viking Press. 134 pp. $2.00.*

Of the poems of 1944, this intense narrative has both timeliness and sound values. Few creative works tell so well the clash over values of a passing with a current generation. It is a delicate love poem, but it mirrors incisively the global struggles of our day. It judges the problems of our society, but it also turns us again to the dusty answer which comes from our assault on personal problems.

What does this poet have? Whatever you desire: wisdom in choice of metrical vehicle, expert control of his medium, feeling for song, sensitivity to nature, humor as a great Greek would understand it, the courage of both slang and legend; telling, creative language set into a roomy framework; catching figures.

Some critic has said that the danger this age presents to poetry is that these years force us to live in a world as empty of real emotion as the algebraic letter *x*. Here is real emotion, genuine passionate poetry, with not a drop of sentimentality, not a cliché in the 134 pages. And there is none of the exhibitionism so common in "modern" poets.

The poem's only weakness is the failing of most wartime poetry: this pinprick of time that is our day is so laden with torment that yesterday and tomorrow become too small a voice in our ears. We encounter the inclination to interpret all values in the light of this war. Thus we lose "the compass of eternity," and walk our ways like the man who mistook his umbrella for the sky's "broad canopy."

But here is great stuff "in contemplation of the devious ways a life may take to find its constancy."

ROBERT S. HOAGLAND.

Pertinent and Challenging

A GREAT TIME TO BE ALIVE. SERMONS ON CHRISTIANITY IN WARTIME. *By Harry Emerson Fosdick. New York: Harper and Bros. $2.00.*

As one who has read all of Fosdick and has been inspired by his preaching and writing through the years, this reviewer feels that his twentieth book is as great as any he has written. No book of facile optimism, as the title taken from one of the sermons might suggest, *A Great Time to Be Alive* comes to grips with life in a manner genuinely Christian and profoundly realistic. Broad enough to see all sides of a question, searching enough to get to the very heart of each problem he essays to handle, Fosdick writes in a style that must always appeal to the modern mind and yet is forever disturbing to all who place Church above Christ, ease and complacency above service.

Of the twenty-five sermons that make up the book, it is impossible to pick any one as pre-eminent. If I were placing this volume in the hands of anyone who happened to belong to a minority group, I think I should call attention to the terrific indictment of racial and religious prejudice which is contained in two sermons in particular, "A Time to Stress Unity" and "Worshipping the Gods of a Beaten Enemy."

No Negro could fail to be moved by the words Dr. Fosdick has written in tribute to the Negro race in these sermons. Just as surely, no thinking white person could ignore the warning of the dangers threatening our civilization unless Americans in general, and Christians in particular, begin to take Jesus' teachings more seriously in respect to this knottiest of all problems in human relationships.

There is hardly a person of the Jewish religion or "race" who would not be stirred by Fosdick's plea for greater understanding between Gentile and Jew. And at this point let no Christian say that the Church is already doing all it can to promote unity. Some churches *are* doing a great deal. Yet, as a Christian—and Gentile—I am ashamed to admit that in the lovely little California town where this is written (a town in which most of the inhabitants belong to some Protestant church) wives of Jewish service men have on repeated occasions been denied the privilege of renting rooms for the stated reason that they happened to be Jewish. Yet in many cases these same Jewish young women have cousins or brothers flying planes over Japan or Germany or who have already given their lives at the front. In this same "Christian" community, incidentally, not only is it true that Negroes are not welcome at the U. S. O. (by reason of community feeling rather than U. S. O. policy, which is truly liberal) but there is no Negro U. S. O. because no landlord will rent a building for that purpose.

While conditions such as this exist, Fosdick's preaching of Christ's message is forever pertinent, eternally challenging.

PALMER VAN GUNDY.

A Mother Remembering

(Thoughts of a gold-star mother on reading of our victorious entry into Bayeaux. "The people were laughing . ." the news item began.)

The people are laughing, they're laughing! my son.
They are drunk on the wine of the free.
With garlands they're strewing the streets we have won.
This I must keep with me.
This is the thought I must never let go—
The people are laughing. It would not be so
But for you who have brought it to be.

Their flowers are brilliant and varied, my son,
But only two colors I'll see
When the tumult has died with the last battle won.
These shall I keep with me,—
Red for your valor, who never could falter,
White for the youth you laid on the altar
Of the world as you hoped it would be.

The statesmen are molding your world. What they write
Cannot fathom the depths of my pain.
To a mother remembering, one deep well of light
Alone has the strength to sustain,—
The people are laughing, they're laughing! my son.
It is this that you fought for, this we have won.
It is this that must always remain.

MADELINE MULVEY.

Western Unitarian Conference

RANDALL S. HILTON, Executive Secretary
700 Oakwood Boulevard, Chicago 15, Illinois

GENEVA CONFERENCE CANCELLED

It is with deep and sincere regret that we have to inform you that the Lake Geneva Conference has been called off for this summer. It was originally scheduled to be held August 19-26, at College Camp. Those who have enjoyed and profited so much by these conferences the past six years will share our disappointment.

A ruling last month seemed to indicate that such vacation conferences as ours did not need special permission to be held. However, a later interpretation from the War Committee on Conventions stated that we were in error in our interpretation and that permission had to be obtained. It also was made clear that they did not look with favor on such assemblies. Therefore, in harmony with the spirit of the rulings and with the action taken by the American Unitarian Association in canceling its annual May Meetings, it was decided to dispense with our Summer Assembly for this year.

It is our hope that the situation will be much different next year and that we will have our conference on Lake Geneva in the summer of 1946. To insure the success of the 1946 conference, all the churches are requested to save such funds as they have raised this year and add to funds raised for next year, so that there can be a substantial increase in enrollment.

DR. JOY TO ITALY

Due to unforeseen obstacles, Rev. Raymond B. Bragg, of Minneapolis, was unable to go to Italy as liaison officer for the medical mission sponsored by the Unitarian Service Committee and the Congregational Service Committee in cooperation with UNRRA.

Dr. Charles R. Joy, Director of the Unitarian Service Committee, has gone to Italy in place of Mr. Bragg. Dr. Elmer Sevringhaus, University of Wisconsin, and Dr. Ernest L. Stebbins, Health Commissioner for New York City, preceded Dr. Joy for the purpose of locating the best place to set up such a mission in Italy.

NEW NOTED UNITARIAN

Pierre Van Paassen, well-known author and lecturer, has become a member of the Unitarian Church of West Newton, Massachusetts. Dr. Herbert Hitchen is the minister of the West Newton church.

BRADLEY AT SAN FRANCISCO

Dr. Preston Bradley, minister of Peoples Church, Chicago, was selected by Secretary of State Stettinius as one of his advisors at the San Francisco Conference of the United Nations. While in San Francisco he preached on Sunday morning, April 29, in the First Unitarian Church.

VISITS OF SECRETARY

During the past sixteen months the Secretary of the Conference has visited forty-six out of the fifty-seven churches that belong to the Western Unitarian Conference. It is his hope that before another year is over he will have had the opportunity to visit all of the churches. Such a heavy traveling schedule would not have been possible but for the generosity of many of the churches in contributing toward the Secretary's travel expenses and entertainment.

CONGRATULATIONS

Announcement has been received of the birth of a daughter, Cynthia, to Rev. and Mrs. Maynard Van Dyke. Mr. Van Dyke is minister of the First Unitarian Church of Louisville, Kentucky.

WORK CAMPS

The two Work Camps scheduled for the Western Conference are not affected by the rulings of the Office of Defense Transportation and will be held. They are designed to aid in essential war work. These camps are sponsored by the American Unitarian Youth and the Unitarian Service Committee.

The agricultural camp at Kent City, Michigan, will be under the leadership of Rev. Robert Zorheide, minister to students in Boston. The industrial camp will be at Dayton, Ohio, and under the leadership of Rev. Harold Marley, minister of the Unitarian Church of Dayton.

Applications for admittance to either of these camps should be sent to Mr. Edward Cahill, 25 Beacon Street, Boston 8, Massachusetts.

THIRD CHURCH, CHICAGO

On Friday night, April 13, the Laymen's League of the Third Unitarian Church of Chicago, put on an all-church dinner. A capacity crowd attended. The purpose of the gathering was the presentation by the League of a complete 16 mm. sound-motion picture projector and equipment.

UNITARIANS IN THE NEWS

The *Chicago Daily News* carried a picture on April 14 in which two Unitarian young people who are in the armed services were featured. They were Seaman Richard Beall and Wave Evelyn Wolff, members of the Unitarian Church of Alton, Illinois.

The *Boston Herald* Columnist, Bill Cunningham, suggested in his column that every "public-spirited citizen" should read the pamphlet, published by the *Toledo Blade,* on "Dumbarton Oaks and the League Covenant." This pamphlet was written by Dr. Philip C. Nash, President of Toledo University and former Moderator of the American Unitarian Association. Dr. Nash is a member of the Toledo Unitarian Church and serves on the Board of Directors of the American Unitarian Association.

MEADVILLE CENTENNIAL

The Meadville Theological School will hold its Centennial Commencement on June fifth and sixth. President Wallace W. Robbins has announced that the program arrangements have been completed. It will be a program of outstanding and exceptional interest. Dr. John Haynes Holmes will give the Commencement address.

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